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On getting up the next morning, he was much surprised at perceiving every body with their heads shaved: a practice which is always adopted at the burial of Tooitonga, a great personage hereafter to be described, whose funeral was performed that day.

In the course of the morning Finow took him on board the ship, where he was much gratified in meeting several of the crew, who had been ordered on board to bring the ship close in shore. The king's orders being understood, they cut the cables, and worked her in shore, through a very narrow passage, so full of rocks and shoals, that, untried, it would have been considered unnavigable. Through the medium of Tooi Tooi the king had been previously informed, that unless his men (which were about 400 in number) were to sit down, and remain perfectly quiet, it would be impossible to work the ship, the Englishmen being only about fourteen in number. The moment Finow had given orders to his men, he was most implicitly obeyed; they sat down, and not a word was spoken, nor the least perceptible noise made by them during the whole time, no more than if none of them were on board. The ship was brought within half a cable's length of the shore, through the narrow passage just mentioned, and run aground according to Finow's orders.

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669 726 [716] had another review like the former; and after remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of the forces of the confederate islands, amounting in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes, direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to the calmness of the weather, they did not reach their destination the same evening in sufficient time to land, but went on shore at a small island close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed the night.

778 [634] [431] Before morning, several presents were brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people living at a consecrated place on the island of Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece of ground about half a mile square, situated on the western part of the island. In this spot are [766] [764] the graves where the greatest chiefs from time immemorial have been buried, and the place is therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege to fight here, and nobody can be prevented from landing: if the most inveterate enemies meet upon this ground, they must look upon each other as friends, under penalty of the displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely death, or some great misfortune. There are several of these consecrated places on different islands.

726 669 694 796 769 The following morning, Finow with several of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-

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plan was marked out somewhat different from the former, and larger, as being judged more suitable to their views; a vast number of hands were employed, and in two days the building was finished: a few alterations and additions were afterwards made as occasion and convenience required. During the time this was about, several of the men got dangerously wounded by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which there were several on the land side of the *colo*. They were also much annoyed by the smell of the dead bodies that lay every where about, but which they did not take the trouble to bury, as they were enemies, and none of them their relations †. The canoes were now hauled up on the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven round them. The four guns were drawn into the fortress, and one placed at each door.

A few days afterwards a small party who went up into the country according to their daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

* Lovosás are pit-falls, dug five feet deep and four broad; several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and sharpened. Sokies are smaller holes, with one stake in, and large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosas* and *sokies* are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight by plantain leaves and earth.

† The bodies that were found within the confines of the fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon the following conditions: if the girls won the game, they were to divide a yam, which they had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

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during the siege. This being granted, they came and singled out half a dozen, from the 350 that lay about, whom they knew, from particular circumstances, to be their relations. These they took home to Nookoo Nookoo, leaving all the rest where they found them.

Every day a number of deserters from different garrisons came over to Finow: they all brought intelligence that Finow might shortly expect an attack from one or other of them: but the fortress of Nioocalofa was now well prepared to receive them. In the meanwhile, the chief of a fortress called Bea, about four miles to the eastward, entered into an alliance with Finow, or rather submitted to his dominion, acknowledging him king of Tonga. The name of this chief was Tarky.

Having remained a fortnight or three weeks in daily expectation of an attack from an enemy, and seeing yet no signs of it, Finow became exceedingly impatient; for he was desirous of returning to the Hapai islands to perform an indispensable ceremony of a religious nature, which we shall now explain. At the death of Tooitonga, (their great divine chief) there is such a constant feasting for nearly a month, as to threaten a future scarcity of certain kinds of provisions: to prevent which evil, a prohibition, or *táboo*, is afterwards laid upon

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hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, so that nobody but great chiefs may use them for food, under pain of death. This *táboo* lasts about eight months. When Mr. Mariner first arrived at these islands, Tooitonga, the predecessor of the present Tooitonga, had just died, and the ceremony of his burial was being performed; though this gentleman had not the opportunity of witnessing it. All the feasting consequent upon this event being over, the *táboo* was imposed upon the articles above named; and now, after the lapse of eight months, comes the period to take it off, and the accomplishment of this constitutes the ceremony in question. It must be mentioned, by the way, that two or three plantations are not subject to this *táboo*, to the end that hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, may be furnished for occasional religious rites, and for the consumption of the higher order of chiefs. If the removal of the *táboo* were not performed in due time, it is supposed that the Gods would become exceedingly angry, and revenge themselves by the death of some of their great chiefs.

Finow, as before stated, seeing no appearance of an enemy, and being anxious to return to Hapai for the performance of this ceremony, consulted the Gods, and was admonished by them to proceed to the Hapai islands as soon as possible. With this view, he at first intended to

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could know nothing of the contents; and that the histories of whole nations were thus handed down to posterity, without spoiling by being kept (as he chose to express himself). Finow acknowledged this to be a most noble invention, but added, that it would not at all do for the Tonga islands, that there would be nothing but disturbances and conspiracies, and he should not be sure of his life, perhaps, another month. He said, however, jocosely, that he should like to know it himself, and for all the women to know it, that he might make love with less risk of discovery, and not so much chance of incurring the vengeance of their husbands.

This circumstance served greatly to amuse and interest Finow and all his chiefs during their day's stay at Pangaimotoo. The following morning they again embarked, and sailing with a favourable wind for the Hapai islands, they arrived at Namooca, and ultimately at Lefooga.

Orders were now issued, and preparations were speedily made for the ceremony of annulling the eight months *taboo*. The places appropriated for this purpose were two *maláis*, and the grave of Tooitonga. For distinction's sake, we shall call the first *malái* Tooitonga's, and the second Finow's. Tooitonga's *malái* is near his own residence, and on this were erected four

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columns of yams in the following manner: four poles, about eighteen feet long, were fixed upright in the ground, to the depth of a few feet, at about four feet distance from each other in a quadrangular form; the spaces between them, all the way to the top, being crossed by smaller poles about six inches distant from each other, and lashed on by the bark of the *fow* (species of the Hibiscus); the interior of this erection being filled up as they proceeded with yams; and afterwards other upright poles were lashed on to the top with cross pieces in like manner, still piling up the yams; then a third set of poles, &c., till the column of yams was about fifty or sixty feet high, when on the top of all was placed a cold baked pig. Four such columns were erected, one at each corner of the *malái*, the day before the ceremony, and three or four hundred hogs were killed, and about half baked. The following day the hogs were carried to the king's *malái*, about a quarter of a mile off, and placed upon the ground before the house, as well as four or five wooden cars or sledges full of yams, each holding about five hundred. While this was doing, and the people assembling from all quarters, those who were already arrived sat themselves down round the king's *malái*. Occasionally some of them got up to amuse themselves and the rest of the com-

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pany by wrestling with one another. The king and his chiefs, all dressed in plaited *gnatoo*, were already seated in the house, viewing what was going forward. The company being, at length, all arrived, and having seated themselves, the king gave notice that the ceremony was to begin. The young chiefs and warriors, and those who prided themselves in their strength, then got up singly, and endeavoured in turns to carry off the largest hog: when one failed, another tried; then a third, and so on, till every one that chose had made a trial of his strength. To carry one of the largest hogs is not a thing easy to be done, on account of its greasiness as well as its weight; but it affords a considerable share of diversion to see a man embracing a large fat baked hog, and endeavouring to raise it on his shoulder. As the hog was found too heavy for one man's strength, it was carried away by two, whilst a third followed with its liver. They were deposited on the ground near Tooitonga's *malái*, where the men waited till the other hogs were brought. In the mean time the trial was going on with the second hog, which being also found too heavy for one man, was carried away by two in like manner; and so on with the third, fourth, &c., the largest being carried away first, and the least last. The second, third, fourth, &c. afforded more sport than the first,

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as being a nearer counterbalance with a man's strength. Sometimes he had got it nearly upon his shoulder, when his greasy burden slipped through his arms, and, in his endeavour to save it, brought him down after it. It is an honour to attempt these things, and even the king, sometimes, puts his hand to it*. The small hogs and pigs afforded no diversion, as they were easily lifted and carried away, each by one man, and deposited, not at the outside of Tooitonga's *malái* along with the largest hogs, but carried at once into it, where the cars of yams were also dragged one at a time. When every thing was thus cleared from the king's *malái*, the company got up and proceeded to the other, where they again seated themselves, whilst Tooitonga presided, and the king and his chiefs, out of respect, sat on the outside of the ring among the great body of the people. The large hogs which had been deposited in the neighbourhood of this *malái* were now to be brought in, each by one man, and, as it had been found that one man's strength was not sufficient to raise any of them upon his shoulders, two others were allowed to lift the hog and place it upon his shoulders for him, and then he tottered in with his load, followed by another

* Nevertheless, as will be seen hereafter, they are a very cleanly people.

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262 796 766 784 765 482 man with the liver; and in this manner all the hogs and their livers were carried in and deposited in two or three rows before Tooitonga. Their number was then counted by the head cooks of Tooitonga and Finow, and announced aloud to Tooitonga by his own head cook; the number of cars and piles of yams was also announced at the same time.

This being done, about twenty of the largest hogs were carried to Tooitonga's burying-place, nearly an hundred yards distant: those which were too heavy for one man to lift being put upon his shoulders by two others, &c., as before, and deposited near the grave; one car of yams was also taken and left in like manner.

262 796 766 784 765 This portion of pork and yam being disposed of, the remainder was shared out in the following manner: one column of yams was allotted to the king, to be removed in the afternoon, and to be disposed of as he pleased: (he always shares it among his chiefs and fighting men:) another column was allotted to Veachi* and two or three other chiefs: the third was given to the gods; (the priests always take care of this portion;) and the fourth Tooitonga claimed for his own share. As to the cars of yams, they

[565 643 776] * Veachi, like Tooitonga, is a divine chief, that is descended from a god; he is, however, inferior to Tooitonga, but higher in rank than the king: see second volume of the work.

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were never inquired after: Tooitonga generally takes care of them, and appropriates them to his own use, and that of his numerous household, not that he has any legal right to them beyond custom and silent consent. The hogs were disposed of in like manner: the greatest quantity to the greatest chiefs, who share them out to the chiefs immediately below them in rank, and these again to their dependants, till every man in the island gets at least a mouthful of pork and yam. The ceremony now concluded with dancing, wrestling, &c. after which, every person present having secured his portion, retired to his home to share it with his family. From this moment the *taboo*, or prohibition upon hogs, fowls, and cocoa-nuts, was null and void.

The hogs and yams left at Tooitonga's grave, having remained there several days, (till the pork stunk,) were shared out, by order of Tooitonga, to all who chose to apply for a portion. They belong indeed properly to the principal chiefs; but as they are accustomed to feed upon meat in a better state of preservation, they forego their claims, and allow the lower orders to eat it for them. Mr. Mariner could not learn why the pork was thus left till it was scarcely eatable—the only answer he could get was, that such was the ancient custom. It may perhaps be considered an offering to Tooitonga's ances-

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tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take away while it was good for any thing.

Finow had three daughters, the eldest of whom, now about eighteen years of age, had been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having expressed his wish that the marriage should take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

The young lady having been profusely anointed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood, was dressed in the choicest mats of the Navigator's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

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ignorance of its being about to take place. He acknowledged, however, that Toobo Toa confided to him his intentions, and asked his assistance, which he promised: but that he had made this promise without meaning to fulfil it; thinking by this method to satisfy for a time the urgent solicitations of that chief: lest, not having made it, he should undertake the rash act before proper measures could be adopted to prevent it.

While he was yet speaking, his own wives and women, having been sent for, came and sat down behind him. His speech being ended, half an hour's silence ensued; nobody daring to deliver his sentiments. The company then rose, by Finow's order, and followed him to his house. As he passed the body, he ordered it to be lifted up and carried before him. When the procession arrived, the body was laid down on the outside of the house, and washed all over with a mixture of oil and water (as is always customary.) This office was performed by one of Finow's wives and Mr. Mariner; nobody else offering to do it, on account of their objections to being *taboo'd* *. Finow's

* No person can touch a dead chief without being *taboo'd* for ten lunar months, except chiefs, who are only *taboo'd* for three, four, or five months, according to the superiority of the dead chief; except again it be the body of Tooitonga, and then even the greatest chief would be *taboo'd* ten

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wife did not mind it, because she was already *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had consequently got accustomed to the inconveniences of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate to do this last office to his friend, because he had no superstitious fears of the consequences of not submitting to the *taboo*. The body, being washed, was brought into the house, laid on a large bale of *gnatoo*, and anointed with sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuha's widows (four in number) now came in to mourn over the dead body of their departed chief. They entered beating their breasts and faces, and screaming with all the agony and frantic agitations of mad women. They sat down close round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain began singing

months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mentioned. During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed himself with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else: he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hungry and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this belief is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs, and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

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The king and his army being arrived at their fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to the different gods that had houses dedicated to them within the place. In performing this ceremony the people formed a large circle on the ground, with the king at the upper end. The bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared aloud their number. The king then ordered that so many should be allotted to such a god, and so many to such another, and so of the rest. The names of these gods were Tali y Toobo, Tooi fooa Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Toobo lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first only are imaginary beings, the others are souls of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess, the soul of a female chief of that name. This being done, the bodies were carried away, and laid before the houses of the different gods to whom they were allotted: where, after they had remained three or four hours, those who had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo were carried away and buried; and the remainder, which were only nine or ten in number, were conveyed to the water side, and there disposed of in different ways: two or three were hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

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whether their insides were sound and entire*, and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which about forty men partook. This was the second instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner witnessed, but the natives of these islands are not to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow began to make enquiries respecting the alleged treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable

* It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime. The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

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tunity to relate it. Among Finow's followers, there was a certain chief, a native of Fiji, who about that period fell ill and died: his wife, who was also a native of Fiji, in accordance with the religious notions in which she had been brought up, considered it a breach of duty to outlive him; she therefore desired to be strangled. All her Tonga friends endeavoured to dissuade her from what appeared to them so unnecessary and useless an act; but no! she was determined, she said, to fulfil her duty, in defect of which she should never be happy in her mind,—the hotooas of Fiji would punish her; and thus, by living, she should only incur fresh miseries. Her friends, finding all remonstrances in vain, allowed her to do as she pleased: she accordingly laid herself down on the ground, by the side of her deceased husband, with her face upwards; and desiring a couple of Fiji men to perform their duty, they put a band of *gnatoo* round her neck, and pulling at each end, soon ended her existence*. In the evening they were buried together in the same grave, in a sitting posture, according to the Fiji custom. Mr. Mariner happened not to be present when she was strangled, but

* It used to be the custom at Tonga, when the divine chief, Tooitonga, died, to strangle his chief wife; but this absurd practice was left off during Mr. Mariner's time.

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speechless. During the night her father, with anxious solicitude, sat by the side of her mat, watching, with sighs and tears, the progress of her disorder. The next morning, which brought no sign of returning health to enliven the hopes of an afflicted parent,—Finow gave directions to proceed to Macávĕ, the place at Vavaoo where (as the reader will recollect) *Booboonoo*, *Cacahoo*, and several other great warriors, were seized by Finow's orders. By the time they had got a little more than half way to Vavaoo, the poor child died. Immediately all the female attendants began to lament in a most woful strain, beating their breasts with violent agitation, and exhibiting every mark of sorrow and despair;—but Finow sat in silence and dejection, weeping for the fate of his daughter. In a little time they reached the coast of Vavaoo, and took the body to a large house, called Böóno, (six posts,) on the *maláe* at Neafoo, followed by Finow, his wives, chiefs, matabooles, and attendants, all habited in mats. The body was laid out on a fine and beautiful Hamoa mat, and then washed over with a mixture of oil and water: after which it was anointed with sandal-wood oil.

It must be here noticed, that the king had determined, in the event of his daughter's death, not to bury her exactly after the Tonga

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fashion, but partly according to that, partly agreeably to the custom of Hamoa, and partly according to a fancy of his own. After the body was washed and anointed with oil, it was wrapped up in fourteen or fifteen yards of fine East India embroidered muslin, which had formerly belonged to one of the officers of the Port au Prince. It was next laid in a large cedar chest, which had been made on board the same ship, for the use of Mr. Brown, out of some cedar planks taken in a prize. Over the body were strewed wreaths of flowers, made for the purpose by her female attendants. Orders were now issued by Finow, that nobody should wear mats, (although it was customary on such solemn occasions,) but should dress themselves in new tapas (this is the Hamoa custom); and instead of *ifi* leaves round their necks, he ordered that they should wear wreaths of flowers, (this was an idea of his own,) as if dressed for some occasion of rejoicing. The chest was placed on two large bales of *gnatoo*, in the middle of the house, and the body laid thus in state for the space of twenty days; during which time Mooónga Toobó, Finow's principal wife, and all her female attendants, remained constantly with the body. In the course of the first night the mourners broke out in a kind of recitative, like that on occasion

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of the death of Toobó Nuha, (p. 143,) but in a very imperfect way, because Finow had ordered that no appearance of sorrow or sound of lamentation should be made; but, in spite of this injunction, they occasionally could not restrain their grief, beating their breasts with every mark of deepfelt anguish. It is difficult to conceive the reason of Finow's whimsical conduct on this occasion, unless it were (as generally interpreted) an impious and revengeful endeavour to insult the gods, by ordering those ceremonies not to be performed which were considered objects of religious duty on such sacred occasions. Every morning and evening provisions and cava were brought for the entertainment of those who attended on the body. On the nineteenth day it was removed from the cedar chest, and deposited in the model of a canoe, about three feet and a half long, made for the express purpose, and nicely polished by one of Finow's carpenters (this is the Hamoa custom). By this time the body had become much inflated, and extremely offensive; but the office of removing it was performed by some foreigners, natives of Hamoa, who were accustomed to such tasks *. During the whole

* At Hamoa (the Navigator's island) it is the custom to keep the dead above ground for a considerable length of time, as above related: as the body, during this period, is

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During the whole of this day, and the following night, the body inclosed in the canoe, with the lid closely fastened down, remained in the house: in the mean time Finow issued orders for a general assembly of *all* the inhabitants of the island, to take place the ensuing morning before the house, and nobody to be absent under any pretext whatsoever, not even that of illness.

Early the following day all the people, according to Finow's orders, assembled before the house, where there was a large supply of provisions and cava for the conclusion of the ceremony. In the mean time the body was conveyed to the Fytóca, where it was deposited, inside the house, without any pomp or form, not within the grave, but on the top of it, that Finow might see the coffin whenever he pleased, and take it away with him whenever he went to a distance.

On this extraordinary occasion, which the caprice of Finow rendered a scene of rejoicing rather than of mourning, after the provisions

apt to become very inflated, it is the duty of a relation to prevent this happening to a great extent, by the practice of a most disgusting operation, viz. making a hole in some part of the abdomen, and, the mouth being applied, sucking out the putrescent fluids, and spitting them into a dish: and this is done out of love and affection for the deceased, without any apparent signs of disgust! Mr. Mariner had this from several natives of Hamoa.

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and cava were shared out, they began the entertainments of wrestling and boxing as usual at festivals. After the men had shown their strength and dexterity in these feats by single engagements, the king gave orders that all the women who resided north of the *mooa* should arrange themselves on one side, ready to combat all the women who resided south of the *mooa*, who were to arrange themselves on the other. It was not a very rare occurrence for women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoicing; but a general engagement like this, with about fifteen hundred women on each side, was a thing altogether new, and beyond all precedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral ceremony. The women, however, readily engaged, and kept up the contest, with obstinate bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of ground being lost or gained on either side; nor would the battle have subsided then, if Finow, seeing the persevering courage of these heroines, had not ordered them to desist, the battle having cost them several sprained ancles and broken arms. They fought with a great deal of steadiness, and gave fair hits, without pulling one another's hair. The men now divided themselves in like manner into two parties, and began a general engagement, which was persisted in a considerable time with much

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fury, till at length that party which belonged to the side of the island on which Finow dwelt began to give way: instantly he rushed from the house in which he was seated, to reanimate his men by his presence and exertions, which he effected to such a degree, that the opposite party in their turn fell back, and were completely beaten off the ground.

This contest being now ended, the company dispersed, each to his respective home, whilst Finow retired to a small house, which had been built since his daughter's death, near Böóno (the large house on the *malái*); and there, feeling himself much exhausted, he laid down to rest from his fatigue. He had not been long in this posture before he found himself very ill: his respiration became difficult: he turned himself repeatedly from side to side; his lips became purple, and his under jaw seemed convulsed: from time to time he groaned deeply and most horribly: all the bystanders were much affected, the women shed a profusion of tears, and the men were occupied no doubt with the thoughts of what commotion might happen in the event of his death, what blood might be spilt, and what battles won and lost. The king, in the meanwhile, seemed perfectly sensible of his situation; he attempted to speak, but the power of utterance

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down while they passed: for if any one were to forego this ceremony in presence of a superior *Egi*, some calamity from the gods would be expected as a punishment for the omission. Sitting down is with them a mark of respect, as standing up is with us, before a superior; upon the principle perhaps, that in this posture a man cannot so readily attack or assassinate the person in whose presence he is; or it may be that in this posture lowering his height is significant of his rank or merit being humbled in presence of the other.

There are many ceremonies which characterise the high respect and veneration shewn to Tooitonga; but as in this place we are discoursing of rank, not of ceremonies, the full description of the latter must be deferred till we come to speak of religious rites. Here we shall only mention, in a general way, in what these ceremonies chiefly consist.

1. The grand ceremony of *ináchi*, which is performed once a year, (about the month of October,) and consists in offering the first fruits of the year to Tooitonga. It was supposed that if this ceremony were neglected, the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon the people.

2. Peculiarity of his marriage ceremony.

3. Peculiarity of his burial ceremony.

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sometimes taken. Veachi used often to lament to Mr. Mariner, that those happy days were passed away when they used to live in peace and happiness at the island of Tonga, when every body paid the highest respect to the divine chiefs, and there were no disturbances to fear, the land was well cultivated, and frequent rich presents were sent to them: others made the same complaint. In short, it would appear that the very ancient complaint, *tempora mutantur*, the almost universal cry of dissatisfaction, is heard at the Tonga islands as well as elsewhere; but the distant prospect generally appears more beautiful than the place whereon we stand: though, in all probability, Tooitonga and Veachi had great reason to complain, particularly Tooitonga, respect towards whom was evidently falling off even in Mr. Mariner's time; for, formerly, it was thought necessary, when Tooitonga died, that his chief wife should be strangled and buried with him, but, in respect to the two last Tooitongas, this was not performed. Again, the late king would not allow Tooitonga to give him any advice in matters of war, but insisted that he should remain in peace and quietness at his own side of the island: and lastly, the present king, when the late Tooitonga died, would not allow his son to succeed to that high title, but, at one bold stroke, freed the

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that obscures the understanding of the Tonga people is surely that which prevents them seeing the unnatural cruelty and absurdity of this practice: we have, however, the most sanguine hopes that "Moloch—horrid king," will not much longer hold his reign in these islands. It is not, we verily believe, from a want of natural feeling, but from an excessive veneration and fear of the gods, created in an æra of great superstition, and now upheld by old practice, that the natives perform these horrible rites. All the by-standers behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child, who is at present of no use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief, whom all esteem, and whom all think it a most important duty to respect, defend, and preserve, that his life may be of advantage to the country. The form of this ceremony is related (Vol. I. p. 217.): other instances on the occasions of Finow's last illness, and that of Tooitonga.

The ceremony of Nawgia, (or strangling), used to be performed upon the chief widow of Tooitonga, on the day of her husband's burial, that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other,

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766 (i. e. the last), a few months before he came
768 away. The first of these two, however, had no
178 chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else none that was of so high a rank as to take the charge of his household, and be the mistress over the others; consequently at his death no
766 such ceremony was performed. The last Tooi-
768 tonga's wife (the daughter of the late king, and
178 sister of the present) was not subjected to this
634 inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the late and present king. When old Finow was living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died before his wife, she should not be strangled: "What," said he, "is the use of destroying a "young and beautiful woman? Who is there "dares say that the gods are merciless and "cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!"
[643] Tooitonga did not die till the present king came into power, and we have already seen that he not only did not allow his sister to be strangled, but he also did not permit another
[784] Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was whispered about, that some great misfortune
768 would happen to the country. At the Fiji
171 islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at least of every considerable chief, undergoes this ceremony on the death of her husband. (See Vol. I. p. 330.)

782 TOOTOO-NIMA, or cutting off a portion of the
755
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All these have been accurately described in the ceremony of burying the late king. There is one remark nevertheless to be made in respect to the four last, particularly *Foa Ooloo;* which appears, however inhuman, to be a very ancient and long established custom in the history of mankind. On turning to Leviticus, Chap. xix. verse 28, we find this command, "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you."

The above-mentioned five ceremonies are common at all burials, and are conducted with more or less pomp, according to the rank of the individual deceased: in saying all burials, however, we must make one exception, viz. that of Tooitonga, on which occasion the ceremony of *Foa Ooloo* is never performed; but the reason of this Mr. Mariner was never able to learn. At the funeral of the greatest chiefs, in general, this outrage is usually exercised with the utmost readiness and enthusiasm; but at that of Tooitonga, who is far higher than any other, it is altogether omitted: the natives have no law for this, but custom.

LANGI, or the ceremony of burying Tooitonga: this word is also applied to signify the grave of this chief during the whole of the funeral ceremonies: it literally means the sky; also, a band of singers; but there appears no

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connection between these different meanings. When Tooitonga is ill, the intercessions with the gods for his recovery are the same, though perhaps in a greater degree, as are made on the illness of other high chiefs: prayers are offered up; priests become inspired; some children have their little fingers sacrificed; others are strangled, &c. When he is dead, his body is washed with oil and water, as usual; his widows come to mourn over him, &c.; and, according to the former custom, his chief widow should be strangled, but whether on the day of his death or of his burial Mr. Mariner does not know. His *fytoca*, or burial-place, is of the same form as that of other chiefs. The day after his death, (which is the day of his burial) every individual at every island, man, woman, and child, has his head closely shaved: this is a peculiarity, and so is the custom of depositing some of his most valuable property along with the body in the grave, such as beads, whales' teeth, fine Hamoa mats, &c.; so that his family burying-place, at the island of Tonga, where all his ancestors have been buried, must have become very rich; for no native would dare to commit the sacrilege of theft. The ceremony of interment is exactly the same as that of the king. The mourning is also the same, viz. old ragged mats, with

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leaves of the *ifi* tree round the neck: but for Tooitonga the time of mourning is extended to four months; the mats being generally left off at the end of nearly three, whilst the leaves are still retained for another month. The *táboo* for touching his body, or any thing that he had on when he died, extends to at least ten months, and for his nearest relations fifteen months. (See Vol. I. p. 141.) Every man neglects to shave his beard for at least one month; and during that time merely oils his body at night, but not his head. The female mourners remain within the *fytoca* about two months, night and day, only retiring occasionally to the neighbouring temporary houses, to eat, &c. It will be seen, that what we have already related of these ceremonies differs in many respects, some in kind, and all in degree, from those attending the burial of the king: but those we are about to describe are altogether peculiar to Tooitonga's funeral.

In the afternoon of the day of burial, the body being already in the *fytoca*, almost every man, woman, and child, provided with a *tómi** and a piece of *holáta*†, sit down at about eighty

* A certain part of the cocoa-nut tree, of which torches are made.

† Part of the stem of the banana or plantain tree, used to receive the ashes falling from lighted torches.

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766 765 416 yards from the grave: in the course of an hour the multitude collects, probably to above three thousand, all clothed in old mats, &c. and seated as just stated. One of the female mourners now comes out of the *fytoca*, and advances in front, where she calls out to the people, saying *mo too, bea ofi my*, Arise ye, and approach; whereupon the people get up, and advancing about forty yards, again sit down: two men behind the grave now begin to blow conch shells, and six others, with large lighted torches, about six feet high, and six inches thick, (made of bundles of *tómēs*), next advance forward from behind the *fytoca*, descend the mount, and walk round one after another several times, between the *fytoca* and the people, waving their flaming torches in the air; they then begin to ascend the mount, at which moment all the people rise up together, and suddenly snap their *bolátas*, nearly at the same time, producing a considerable crash: they then follow the men with the torches, in a single line, ascending the mount and walking round the *fytoca*, as they pass the back of which the first six men deposit on the ground their extinguished torches, and the rest their *tómēs* and *bolátas*, the mourners within thanking them for providing these things: thus they proceed round, and return to their places and sit down.

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sit down. The mataboole, who has the direction of the ceremonies, now advances in front of the people, and orders them to divide themselves in parties, according to their districts; which being done, he gives to one party the business of clearing away the bushes, grass, &c. from one side of the grave, and to another to do the same in regard to another part, a third to remove such and such rubbish, &c. so that the whole neighbourhood of the *fytoca* becomes perfectly clear: this being done, all the people return to their respective temporary houses.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin again to sound the conchs, while others chant partly in an unknown language*, and partly in Hamoa, a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood get ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant with the

* The natives can give no account of what this language is, nor how they originally came to learn the words. It has been handed down from father to son, among that class of people whose business it is to direct burial ceremonies. None of them understand the words. It begins thus: *too fia o chi tóccalów eio chi toccalów ca me fafángo eio manáve táwto, &c.* There are several Tonga words among it, and in all probability it is old or corrupted Tonga, though no sense can now be made of it.

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high character for cleanliness which we have given the natives: it must be considered, however, a religious rite, standing upon the foundation of very ancient custom. These men, about sixty in number, assemble before the grave, and wait farther orders. The chanting being finished, and the conchs having ceased to blow, one of the mourners comes forward, seats herself outside the *fytoca*, and addresses the people thus: "Men! ye are gathered here to perform the duty imposed on you; bear up, and let not your exertions be wanting to accomplish the work:" having said this, she retires into the *fytoca*. The men now approach the mount (it being dark), and (if the phrase is allowable) perform their devotions to *Cloacina*, after which they retire. As soon as it is day-light, the following morning, the women of the first rank (wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs), assemble with their female attendants, bringing baskets, one holding one side, and one the other, advancing two and two, with large shells to clear up the depositions of the over night; and in this ceremonious act of humility there is no female of the highest consequence refuses to take her part: some of the mourners in the *fytoca* generally come out to assist, so that in a very little while the place is made perfectly clean: this is re-

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peated the fourteen following nights, and as punctually cleared away by sun-rise every morning. No persons but the agents are allowed to be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies, at least it would be considered highly indecorous and irreligious to be so. On the sixteenth day, early in the morning, the same females again assemble; but now they are dressed up in the finest *gnatoo*, and most beautiful Hamoa mats, decorated with ribbons and with wreaths of flowers round their necks: they also bring new baskets, ornamented with flowers, and little brooms very tastefully made: thus equipped, they approach, and act as if they had the same task to do as before, pretending to clear away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and take it away in their baskets. They then return to the *mooa*, and resume their mourning mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree. Such are the transactions of the fifteen days; every day the ceremony of the burning torches being also repeated. The natives themselves used to express their regret that the filthy part of these ceremonies was necessary to be performed, to demonstrate their great veneration for the high character of Tooitonga, and that it was the duty of the most exalted nobles, even of the most delicate females of rank, to perform the meanest and most disgusting offices, rather than the sa-

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cred ground in which he was buried should remain polluted.

For one month, from the day of burial, greater or less quantities of provisions are brought every day, and shared out to the people. On the first day a prodigious quantity is supplied; but on every succeeding day a less quantity, gradually decreasing till the last, when, comparatively, a very small portion is brought. The expenditure, and we may say waste of provisions, is, however, so great, as to require a *táboo* to be laid on certain kinds of provisions, (see Vol. I. p. 112), which lasts about eight or ten months; and at the end of that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed to remove it.

Ta'boo.—This word has various shades of signification: it means sacred or consecrated to a god, having the same signification as *fucca égi:* it means prohibited or forbidden, and is applied not only to the thing prohibited, but to the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it is in sacred matters), to the person who breaks the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or a house be consecrated to a god, by express declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is said to be *táboo*; the like if a canoe be consecrated, which is frequently done, that it may be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is

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Tu'ula he tata'anga lei,	Light on the place where ivory is carved,
Ifi e kele'a ta moe vehi.	Blow the conch, beat the drum.
Pehe ni ha 'aho kou ma 'i heni;	'Twas such a day that we were here;"
Mate 'ofa he enau nofo holo,	How I love their sitting about,
Taupala 'e he taka tolo,	Frequenting of those who come to the games,"
Tama 'ae fuifui pule'oto,"	The chief with necklace of *puleoto*,
'O tu'ula 'i he vao motelolo.	And they gather amongst the *motelolo*."
Angi mai angi he he-'ia	Blow hither, blow, *he, he'ia*,
Langi faka-sinifu e nofo.	Choir of women farewell."

On the Death of the Tui Tonga

Very unfortunately the record of this very ancient poem has been mutilated. The effort to recover the missing lines from the memory of a very able Tongan who had read them was unsuccessful. Four lines and the greater part of a fifth are missing.

Neu tu'u 'i Langi-'e-he-tupua,	I stood in Langiehetupua,'
Mana-foli lupe otu fonua,	Pigeons flew ominous throughout the lands,'
Na'i Mata-'o-peka mo Vei-tuna,	Ah, poor Mataopeka and Veituna,'
Faka'ofa 'e Malama-'i-saua,	Malamaisaua moves pity,'
Koe tu'i 'o mama mo 'otua.	King of earth and a god.'
Tanumanga ne tu'u moe tatau,	That which is buried was there with the screen,'
Tu'u ai 'Ala-'i-vaha-mama'o;	Alaivahamamao stood there;'
Koe Tu'a-niu hala kuo mao.	The Midrib-of-the-coconut-leaflet is dead, what a thing has happened.'
Na'i Lupe 'o Manono mo Fualu	Dear Pigeon of Manono and Fualu'
Tu'u (he?).....evalu	Stood.....eight"
(four lines)	(four lines)
Ko homau Tu'i ka maliu atu	Our King is returning thither
'Oafio 'i Pulotu-tu'u-ma'u	To reign in Pulotutuumau."
'Ae toki pata 'e asihau	Then the king's attendants rejoice"
'I he ene taulalo 'a Vava'u.	When Vavau sinks out of sight."
Ho he.	*Ho he*."

Koe Takipo o Nau

When a very great chief dies fires are kept burning throughout the night round the house in which the body is lying. This ceremony, which is called *takipo*, has been witnessed twice on a large scale in Nukualofa during recent years, once on the death of Fatafehi, Tui Pelehake, in 1912, and again in 1918 when King George Tupou II died. During the nights in which the king's body was lying in state, the Palace enclosure was surrounded by hundreds of torches, tended by people who sat noiseless. Each light was burning over a little hearth, called *fakaolaanga*, formed of a tray (*pola*) of plaited coconut leaf, on which were laid pieces of the stem of the plantain tree, covered with a layer of sand. To bring the sand for this purpose is *fala mai ae one one*.

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Three persons, men or women indifferently, are in attendance at each hearth, sitting on three sides of it. One, called *takipo*, sits facing the direction in which the corpse is lying, and holding the torch, *fofongaimama*, horizontally over the sand, and pointing towards the corpse. No one sits on the side towards the body. This side is sacred (*toputapu*) and no one may pass on that side except a person of superior social rank (*fahu*) to the dead chief. To the left and right of the man holding the torch are two attendants (*feangai*) facing the torch. They keep the torch burning brightly by knocking the ash from it with little sticks. The ashes that fall to the sand they extinguish by brushing sand over it with their little sticks. When the torch, formed of the dry spathe of the coconut flower, is nearly burned out a new one is held alongside it until it is fairly alight. The old torch is then dropped on to the sand, and extinguished by the *feangai* brushing sand on to it with their little sticks. When one of the watchers is wearied, or desires a change, his place is silently taken by a fresh watcher. The silent crowds and the hundreds of lights make the ceremony singularly impressive.

When daylight comes the lights are kept burning until the first light has been extinguished (*lolo ae po*) by someone who is *fahu* to the deceased chief. A foreigner, being exempt from the tapu that surrounds the native, might also give this signal. On one of the mornings when the *takipo* was being kept for the late King George Tupou II a high chiefly lady who was *fahu* to the King and was being awaited to *lolo ae po* was late in arriving. The service of an Indian were just about to be requisitioned when the *fahu* lady came.

Everyone, of course, wears the *taovala*, the cincture of respect, over the ordinary clothing, except those who are *fahu* to the dead chief. The proper dress for the *fahu* is the piece of native cloth called *tapa ki tve*—that is, the end of the cloth at which the staining and stencilling are started. This smaller dress (*vala*) than ordinary is used by chiefly youths as a free-and-easy dress for sports.

The following composition is a call on various localities to come and keep the vigil about the body of Nau, or a list of those who did come. It seems to be incomplete, as the manuscript ends with "etc." It is a list that might be continued indefinitely. The places mentioned are in Vavau. Nau is not an uncommon name, both of men and women. This particular Nau has not been identified. There is perhaps a slight balance of probability in favor of its being a woman rather than a man.

Exceeding pleasant the dear wind[1]
That blew on Teisina, and came
Straight on our spreading *takafalu*.[2]
The dear double-canoe of Nau and me,
There was our canoe-house
With upper story of wild hau,
Where went in and out,[3]
And cried to be carried to bathe
Tuoua and the mat *palavalu*,
A dear thing that beseemed Nau.
Tend the vigil fires ye hills of Vavau,
Start the watch Kafoa and Talau,

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The vigil is kept by the hillock of Pau,
Hunga kept the vigil, kept it Nuapapu,
They kept thy vigil in Fakapenau,
Thy vigil went out through the headlands,
In Otea and Motuahala 'twas kept,
Thy vigil was kept in Hikupapa,
'Twas kept by Taunga and the isles of Mala,
Thy vigil was kept in Nukumahanga,
Tauta watched, watched also Kapa,
Thy vigil was kept in Lautala,
Ofu watched, watched Mafana,
Koloa watched, watched Niuhaka,[4]
Thy vigil went through to Matoto,
Vaolongolongo tended vigil fires,
And Mahinahopo tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Apivao,
Thy vigil went through to the east
Potuitoume tended vigil fires,
Thy vigil was kept in Faheke,
Vaimasiniake tended vigil fires,
And the steeps of Nove tended vigil fires.

Ulamoleka's Poem on the Death of Veainu

A marvellous feat of memory is associated with this piece. Veainu was the father of Falepapalangi, the bard, the friend of Ulamoleka, sailor and poet. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were in Eua when the news of Veainu's death was brought from Tongatabu. Falepapalangi at once returned to Tongatabu, but Ulamoleka stayed on in Eua. After a time he too returned to Tongatabu, and went to pay the customary ceremonial visit of condolence to his friend Falepapalangi. The visitor on these occasions always brings gifts such as mats, cloth, kava, food. The recipient formally thanks the giver for each of his gifts. Ulamoleka, however, brought nothing to Falepapalangi except a small piece of native cloth, which he spread on the ground before him, and then he recited this poem, which was the real gift to Falepapalangi. Falepapalangi thanked his friend for the cloth, and then said "Thanks for the —" and starting at the first line he went right through the piece, which he had just heard for the first time.

Some details are not clear, but the general trend is plain. The text was badly written in pencil. Comparison with another copy, had it been available, might have cleared up some points. I have changed the order of a very few lines. After the opening, recounting the receiving of the sad news, the bard goes on to picture the collecting of mats, as a gift to the family in honor of the dead man. Having finished collecting mats in Tonga he imagines a voyage to Samoa, to get other mats, and the collecting of presents from Fiji. But after all mats and cloth are but perishable, and he will give another form of wealth, poetry.

Riding the waves in the surf of Makaunga,[1]
Mine the second, thine the first wave,[2]
And I went turning over
To Utupakisi, the pool.
The last breaker, and I come up ashore,
And the west wind brings the report,
My body shook and started,
No marvel lightnings flash and rains pour,
The vale in flood, Ohonua wave-girt.[3]
Yea, the head timbers of the roof,[4]
Alas, the treasure of Finemua.
Thought, meseems, is barren,
And storm is at hand,
And our anchor parted,
And we are driven beyond Hunga.[5]
And at once I made my thing of nought,
Would that my doing were as a double mat,

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priest, or priestess, of the *feke* (octopus god) represented the octopus at times by sprawling on the ground.

Dances, of course, figure largely in the festivals for any joyous occasion. In earlier days, dances were performed at the funerals of great chiefs, and at the important religious festival of Inasi (First fruits). (See 18, vol. 2, pp. 131-135; 28, vol. 2, pp. 168-173; 37, p. 158.) Krämer (26, vol. 2, pp. 314-328) gives a description of Samoan dances, illustrated by photographs.

Although dancing, song, and instrumental music usually go together, they are not always associated. Labillardière says that he heard an extremely monotonous duet upon bamboo flutes and mentions Pan's pipes, or flutes, of which the "tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest." While I have not seen the Pan's pipes, I have seen the nose flute (*fangufangu*), but this, too, is becoming rare. The blowing of the conch is still fairly common, and there are a number of the wooden drums (*lali*).

Mariner mentions *lave* and *fakaniua* as types of song. But the term *lave* is used for recitation, song, or for composition recited or sung.

Falaolongo [1]

Falaolongo hard by Kailahi's cave,[2]
Fineingo and Tausisivavaki,
And the toa tree Tuihalafatai [3]
Its plaintive sighing in Avataliapi.[4]
I stood by Huafaikitama [5]
Smiling upward on the meadow.
Vailahi, my way is hidden,[6]
I remember Veingangana [7]
Playing hide-and-seek with Vaitakiafale;
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind perchance is from the north,[8]
Is it blowing upon Keitahi,
Meitumu and the breaking wave,
Veiatavake and Vaoatokotoko?[9]
The wind has gone about,
Blown about the dripping water in Veitoto;[10]
Height above Lokupo with its clinging mist,[11]
By the road in the midst of the mountain,
The moon's soft glow and uprising
Flooding with light the *fatai* and the grass,[12]
By the pool-gemmed coast of Fotumoko.[13]
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind remains in the north,
Goes gently round on the Sacred Coast,[14]
On Veingangana and Vai Aku,[15]
My vain search in the deep for bonito;[16]
I long to go on to Huangalau,[17]
Borne hither the fame of its beauty;
Is the weather coast of Tonga told in chosen words [18]
By the sand of Laulea?
When uprisen is the moon,
And gleams on Fakaulunafa [19]
And the pool Valekatoua.
Dear weather-coast of Tonga here am I.

Song of Fishers [1]

In the moons of Former Nit and Rain,[2]
Moon for this paddling on the sea,
Early has gone the king of Tefisi;[3]
Fast approaches a day of assembly.
On the morning's morn bring the boats around,
Ashore in Fasia, and early go—[4]
Tofoa at the dawn, Halakakala,[5]
And Houmafeo and Faiana,[6]
Fotuia, Ta'ane, and Omai.
Gathered are all the fisherman chiefs;
Let us look about for a teller of winds,[7]
On a day that is near for the kava ring.[8]
The nets have been lifted at Fakapu,[9]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

Pulotu into three departments, is it not possible that Pulotutuumau, which the poet regards as the destination of the Tui Tonga, may be a pleasanter place than Pulotuakaaka, to which Tukulua refers with evident repugnance. There is always the possibility of simply descriptive epithets being applied to the same Pulotu.

12. In *asi-hau*, attendants of the *hau* (king), it is interesting to have a clear example of the application of the word *hau* to the Tui Tonga. *Hau* indicates kingship, lordship actually manifest in power and rule, rather than chieftainship which is the prerogative of birth. In the later days of the Tui Tonga, when his power was becoming gradually overshadowed by the growing might of the Tui Kanokupolu, the word *hau* was more often used of the more powerful king, and on occasion even of other chiefs who happened for the time being to have won preeminence through military virtue.

13. As Vavau is the northern group of the Tongan islands, evidently the king's road to Pulotu takes him in a generally northerly direction. It is possible, however, that this is an echo of the Vavau that occurs so widely in Polynesian tradition as one of the stopping places in the migrations. Since the attendants rejoice when Vavau has sunk out of sight, it is to be presumed that they rejoice because they have entered on the last stage of the voyage to Pulotu. It is difficult to say whether the king is regarded as having already made the voyage to Pulotu, or as being about to make it. The only indication of time is given by *ka* in *ka maliu*, which usually marks future, or indefinite time. I have not heard a period assigned as elapsing between death and the departure of the spirit; but the tapu on a house in which a death has occurred is removed by sprinkling water in it a few days after the death; bodies of great chiefs are kept unburied longer than those of common people; funerary tapu for some high chiefs were kept in force for as long as a year; occasionally bodies were kept unburied for months, even for years, apparently as a mark of special affection.

14. Following *ho he* in the manuscript is "etc." Apparently there were other syllables in the refrain.

Pages 79-81. Koe Takipo o Nau

1. The opening lines refer to scenes pleasant in the life and friendship of Nau.

2. The *takafalu* is a tree. The bard and Nau used to sit in its shade.

3. This reference is not very clear and many interpretations are grammatically possible. *Tuoua* and *fihupalavalu* are the names of two kinds of mats, but may be the nicknames of two children who used to run in and out and ask to be taken to the sea to bathe. Or perhaps it is meant that Nau used to go in and out of the canoe house. Possibly Nau is the subject and reference is made to two children who used to ask to be taken to bathe. Or all the lines may refer to Nau, though why she should desire to be carried to bathe is not very clear. Still there are stories of chiefly girls who were not permitted to walk, and such stories must have some basis in fact. The difficulty of interpretation is not lessened by the fact that instead of *fafa* (both *a*'s short), the word may be read with the last *a* long, as in fact it is marked in the manuscript, and the meaning is then not "carry," but "grope, feel." When so many interpretations are grammatically possible it is impossible to decide without some information about Nau.

4. Koloa, an island and village of ancient fame. The Maui are said by a very good informant to have belonged originally to Koloa, but the exact relations of the names Vavau and Haafuluhao apparently are not very clear to modern Tongans.

Pages 81-82. Ulamoleka's poem on the death of Veainu

1. Makaunga is in Eua. Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka were together in Eua when the news of Veainu's death reached them.

2. Two different types of waves.

3. Ohonua is the head village of Eua. A deep gully (the "vale" in the text) runs down beside the village, and opens into the sea, forming a little boat harbor. Frequently boats are weather-bound here by the heavy sea running on the bar at the harbor mouth.

4. The reference is to Veainu. Finemua is a name for Falepapalangi.

5. Hunga is two steep, lonely rocky islets about twenty miles north of Tongatabu. Ulamoleka expresses distress and dismay at the death of Veainu, which was not unexpected when Falepapalangi and Ulamoleka left Tongatabu for Eua.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

USE OF CAVES

172 342 There is evidence of a twofold use of caves in Tonga. Use for temporary shelter and places of hiding was to be expected and warrants no lengthy discussion. The use of caves as burial places, however, deserves more careful consideration as it is contrary to recent customs and traditions, and not altogether in harmony with the usual primitive methods of burial. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Fijians somtimes buried their dead in caves (28, vol. 1, p. 186). Moreover, no accounts of cave burials in Samoa were found—negative evidence hardly appropriate to use as an argument for Fijian origin of cave burial. Tongans usually account for the occurrence of skeletal material in caves by stories of wartime refugees who lived and died there, or who were tracked to their hiding places and killed there. The remains are usually laid out with great care, however, and in no way suggest a scene of final retribution. Referring to a cave burial which he saw at Toula, Vavau, West (27, p. 186) says: "The native guide informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand." On the other hand, the skeletal material which I obtained from a cave burial on the island of Kau, Haapai, was found by Sullivan (21) to be similar in type to material from regular burial places. This suggests that these people were not foreigners in any radical racial sense. The available evidence seems to indicate that some strangers and foreigners may have been buried in caves, in districts where caves were available, and that other caves were used as burial sites by refugees for their dead.

172 342 The caves Anapusi (Cat-cave), Poutaha (Single-post) and Anakumetekava (Stone-kava-bowl-cave), situated near the western top of a low hill south of Maofanga, Tongatabu, were traditionally used as dwelling places or temporary shelters. Cat-cave is so named on account of some owls that are said to live there and to have the supernormal power of assuming the form of cats at will. Single-post-cave derives its name from a limestone column which supports the entrance roof. A concave stone, said to have been found in Stone-kava-bowl-cave, accounts for its name. All of these caves are uncomfortably small as places of residence. Nevertheless, refugees from the fighting forces of George I Tupou are said to have hidden there. They bear no evidence of prolonged occupation.

726 A cave called Analahi (Large-cave) penetrates the precipitous face of the northeastern shore of Eua, Tongatabu. It is said that a group of Euan refugees lived here for a considerable length of time, the only means of access to the cave being so difficult that a single man could guard it against

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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warrior, wrested it from her, and then invested his Father Moomooe with it, who was the reigning chief, when we landed.

Duatonga was particularly delighted with the cuckoo-clock, and wished to have one. As we had several, we were glad of this opportunity of gratifying the second chief in the Island, with so acceptable a present. He took it home. Curiosity prompted him to examine the inside. He succeeded in taking it to pieces; but had not skill to put it together again. We were sent for to mend it; we made the attempt; but unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock, we were equally unsuccessful. This excited great laughter among them, and brought down upon us much ridicule. They were naturally very conceited, and this circumstance much encouraged their vanity; and now they prided themselves in the idea, that they were as skilful and cleaver[1] as we.

Soon after this, Moomooe, the reigning chief, died. His disorder and danger excited great concern through the Island, and one of his own sons was slain, through a delusive hope that his health and strength would be communicated to his dying Father.

But it is beyond the power of description, to paint the dreadful scene of horror and bloodshed, which took place at his funeral, and continued to be acted round his tomb, for weeks after. Two of his wives

1 [Errata: this should read "clever." Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235—Analyst]

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

were strangled at the Fiatooka, or burying place, at the time his body was deposited there. The Fiatooka was a large inclosed space with a lofty funeral pile in the middle, of a pyramidical form, round which, the bodies of the Chiefs had been laid for ages past, in a solemn range of rude dignity. The space round the tomb was on this occasion a palæstra for savage gladiators. Hundreds ran about it, with ferocious emulation, to signalize their grief for the venerated chief, or their contempt of pain and death, by inflicting on themselves the most ghastly wounds, and exhibiting spectacles of the greatest horror. Thousands, ere the period of mourning was over, fought with each other, and cut themselves with sharp instruments, to testify by bloody scars, their sorrow for their beloved Moomooe,

It was an awful scene indeed! Night after night, we heard for some weeks, the horrid sound of the conch-shell, rousing these deluded creatures to these dreadful rites of mourning for the dead; and shrieks, and clashing arms, and the rushing and violence of the multitude, re-echoed round our abode, and rendered it a scene of continual horror and alarm.

At length these shocking ceremonies ceased, and all the chiefs assembled for the purpose of electing a supreme.

Toogahowe, who by his superior prowess in the field, had awed the neighbouring Islands as well as Tongataboo, and had placed his Father Moomooe

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife or children. His food is always prepared for him.

Death of Children

An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named, or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

[25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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old woman's broad jokes. These sallies are directed at the cause of the infant's death which the old woman thought was due to over-indulgence in sugar-cane. While a pad of bark cloth is pushed under the infant's chin to hold up its head, the mourners speculate quietly on the fate that has overtaken the mother's offspring: eight born, four alive, four dead.

The two old women wipe the dead body and oil it, then wrap it in bark cloth. Finally the mother returns with mats. The body is laid out on the floor and covered with a fine mat up to the neck. The mother now starts wailing over her child, calling out for her brother (the *fa'e tangata* of the dead child) and regretting he is not present. The grandmother chants phrases expressing the wish that the child should have life again. After each call she bends over the child and kisses its face. The father comes in with fly-switches for the mourners. He sits by the head of his child crying quietly. The grandmother soon stops wailing. The mother continues for a further two hours. Suddenly, the father remembers that he is without his ceremonial skirt. He goes off to his house to find it and put it on.

In the afternoon, the pastor of the church comes to the house and holds a prayer meeting over the body. In the evening and all night long, members of the church, of the family and relatives sing hymns and pray. The father digs the grave during the night.

On the following morning at dawn, after regular church attendance, all the men and women of the village dress in their ceremonial skirts and go to the house of death. Presently the procession moves to the cemetery, the body of the dead child carried in the arms of the father's brother. There follow at the grave prayers, hymn-singing and then the quick burial.

The women of the family of the dead child return to the mother's mother's house where the women form a *kava*-circle. The men of the family meet in the mother's brother's house for *kava*. This division of the sexes is unusual for a funeral *kava*-circle. The reason given in this case was that the mother's mother's house was too small for all the mourners. Some of the women boiled food which was later

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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765 858 574 276 766 served to all the mourners. This again is most unusual for a funeral-feast, which should be a large quantity of oven-baked food including the inevitable pig. However, the village overseer had suggested that because the deceased was an infant and because he had died two days after Christmas and thus in the middle of the holiday-making time, it would be advisable not to trouble with an oven. The parents, being poor, were only too glad to acquiesce in such advice. The mourners disbanded about midday. There was no ten-day mourning period.

766 858 This account emphasizes the somewhat casual fashion in which an immature infant may be buried as compared with the burial of an important adult. It must be remembered, however, that the family of the dead child had apparent right to be more casual than most village families would have been in similar circumstances. This was their fourth infant dead. None of the remaining children in this family looked the picture of anything except ill-health and hence the parents could probably expect further deaths among their offspring. It is most likely, however, that little of this casualness would be evident if death had happened to take the first-born and favourite son of affectionate parents. 761 152 Presumably like most people everywhere, the villagers infuse dynamic quality into the observance of custom according to the strength of attitude and feeling that they experience. [765] [594] Where death is not unexpected, or where family status is not at stake, mourning may become casual. Where it is unexpected, or where deep affection is involved, or where family status is at test, then observance of custom becomes charged with all the emotional quality of deeply-felt experience.

MEDICINE

759 759 For most of his aches, pains, and sicknesses the villager prefers treatment from one of the recognized experts in the village. [743] [177] He consents to treatment from the white doctor only if his trouble obstinately refuses to yield to Tongan types of cure, and some friend or relative, more sceptical of Tongan medicine, can persuade him to visit the hospital in 753 775 Neiafu. In general, however, the villager probably feels

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell (*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga, but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or *vesi*, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the Fulefu, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred creature is the heron (*wotuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured, are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

The *kanahe* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fainga'a, *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Mani Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui, and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is concerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

The *eka* (rail) was the god of Manumua, a chief on the island of Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-vee-valu (Eight-legged-heron), a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that Motuku-vee-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of Tongatabu before the present Haa-Ngata lords. This, if true, is a very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tongatabu. Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the beautiful Vae.

The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fa*) in a heavy rain.

The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uiha in Haapai, whose chief is Malubo. On his mother's side King George Tubou I. was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akaua in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

the very large stones used in the old structures have been quarried; but, on the other hand, no systematic search may have been made. Traditionary evidence, however, is sufficiently strong to warrant the belief that some at least of the stones were brought from distant islands, notably Uvea.

All these imposing structures are incontrovertible evidence of power. They were possible only to kings at whose command was a practically unlimited supply of labour. The population of the islands may have been little, if any, greater, than at present, but the king must have had the unquestioned right to the labour of every man. The fragment quoted above indicates such a right extending over a very much larger area than the present Tongan group. Despotic power can accomplish much. A tradition relates that two chiefs, brothers, were engaged in hauling a huge stone, which the labourers found quite beyond their strength. Night fell, but the stone had not been moved. In the darkness the brothers took counsel together, and, when the work was resumed on the morrow, threatened with death any man who did not pull satisfactorily. The threat was efficacious, and "the stone ran" into its place, as the Tongan idiom has it.

REMOVAL OF KINGS TO MUA.

The two sons of Tui-ta-tui initiated an important change. They were interested in boats, and each possessed a large canoe. Heketa was ill-provided with anchorages, and they shifted their abode nearer to the centre of the north coast of Tongatabu, to the present Mua, or Lapaha (equivalent to Lambasa in Fiji), where they found safe shelter for their boats. Henceforth this site was the abode of the Tui Tonga and his court. Here are the *langi*, burial vaults, so well known to the modern sight-seer. These vaults stand in a long row, with isolated ones scattered about. The earliest probably dates from about the thirteenth century. The finest of these, with corners of immense single blocks hewn into right angles, stands nearer the sea than the main row of *langi*. It is associated with the name of Telea, who belongs to about the beginning of the seventeenth century; but its position suggests the probability that its erection belongs to the reign of an earlier king. There have been very recent interments in this *langi*. It should be remarked that highly competent Tongan authority asserts that the kings

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

were frequently buried secretly, and not in the vault where the interment ostensibly took place, so as to be secure from violation by their enemies.

THE WOODEN KING.

Two generations after Tui-ta-tui a curious incident occurred, which seemed to show a reluctance to break through the succession of son to father. Talaatama was in reality succeeded by his brother Talai-haa-pepe. The genealogies show a late example of a king succeeding to his half-brother, though evidently the later king in this case had a very much younger mother than his predecessor. When Talaatama died, however, Talai-haa-pepe took a block of wood, and installed that as Tui Tonga, the Tui-tonga-nui. The wooden king was given a wife, and in due time it was announced that she was pregnant. Later followed the sad announcement that the king was dead. His wooden majesty was buried, and Talai-haa-pepe was installed, one hazards the guess rather as the son of the wooden king, than as the brother of the last real occupant of the throne.

SAMOAN WAR—1250.

After Talai-haa-pepe reigned Tala-kai-faiki, a noted warrior, ruthless as he was energetic and able. In the thirteenth century he brought a large part of Samoa under his sway, but his cruelty augmented the restiveness which a spirited people always feels under the yoke of the conqueror, and he was driven out by the Samoans, led by Tuna and Fata, whose brother was the first bearer of the title of Malietoa. The defeated king's farewell to Samoa is a model of fair and succinct treaty-making:

> Noble courage, finely fought,
> Not again shall I come
> With strife to Samoa;
> But my coming shall be
> On a voyage of peace.

There is also a Samoan lament, put into the mouth of Tala-kai-faiki's mother, who supposed that her son was killed, somewhat in the spirit of portions of Deborah's Song in the fifth chapter of Judges. The silence of Tongan tradition concerning this war is not a little strange. Since the event was not favourable to Tonga, the Tongan bards may for that reason have rejected the theme. There may

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 Wednesday, 17th.—Have been ill since last Sunday, but my mind is kept peaceful.

Sunday, 21st.—Still rather unwell, but went in the boat and fulfilled my appointments at Bagaimotu. Preached twice, and met the members of Society. I spoke to each member individually, and hope good was done. Returned home after dark.

[533] The boatmen sang several hymns as we glided along over the rippling sea, lighted on our way by the glorious beams of the full moon. There are no moonlight nights like this under the murky skies of our native land. The scene was gorgeous, and the singing sounded exceedingly fine, as it echoed and re-echoed from the shores of the harbour on either hand.

797 Thursday, 25th.—Walked to Toula. The road was bad, and it rained nearly all the way. After
766 preaching, I visited a small cave facing Neiafu
609 Bay, where all foreigners, whether Europeans or others, who died in these islands, were formerly buried. The native guide informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand. Upon any sudden rising of the sea, such as occurs during hurricanes, the cave was liable to inundation, in which case the relics of the dead were generally carried off by the receding tide. There were still, however, (when we saw it,) several human bones strewing the cave, clearly indicating the purpose to which it had been devoted in heathen times. Now,

[797] through the Gospel, a better and more generous spirit actuates these people, and strangers receive all the necessary respect when they die, by being interred in the ordinary manner, and in the usual burying-grounds.

643 commoners' blood, the wives of the *Tu'i Tonga* were
[644] most often chosen from among the families of powerful chiefs or else from among foreigners, and his principal wife received the distinguished title,
[755] *Moheofo.* It was not unusual for small children to be
[782] sacrificed as an appeal for the gods' merciful intervention in the event of the *Tu'i Tonga*'s illness.

Upon the death of the *Tu'i Tonga,* every
648 individual in the Kingdom had his head shaved, and
766 quite elaborate mourning rites took place, including the burial of certain individuals with the monarch's
[784] body. For about eight months following the death
[262] of the *Tu'i Tonga,* there was such extensive feasting and mourning that a taboo (chiefs, only, exempted) had to be imposed upon certain staples like coconuts and hogs in order to prevent a food shortage; the taboo was lifted at the end of the

[p. 28-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29B]

643 lengthy mourning period by a formal observance
766 called *Fakalahi.*'

[784] The first fruits of the season were presented
[262] annually to the *Tu'i Tonga* in the solemn, traditional ceremony—*'Inasi.* These tributes of food in
643 incredible quantities were actually gifts to the gods,
651 for whom the *Tu'i Tonga* was sole earthly agent. In
[796] the ceremony, thanks were given to the gods and prayers were offered to insure the gods' protection and their favor for future plentiful harvests.
[784] Succeeding harvests and success in other ventures supposedly depended upon the execution of the *'Inasi* (literally, portion or share), for if it was not performed, the people believed that the gods would

[p.29-B]

643 bring devastation upon Tonga. By 1810, however,
651 the political system had decentralized and changed
[784] such that the *'Inasi* was discontinued.
[178] Being absolute lord over all the Tonga Islands, the *Tu'i Tonga* was surpassed only in rank by his sister,
644 the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine.* (It remains true in Tonga
[562] even today that women hold superiority over men in ceremonial ranking.) Still higher, and in fact, the person of highest rank traditionally in the entire Kingdom was the *Tamaha*—that is, the eldest daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga Fefine.* The rank of the *Tamaha* was so great that even the *Tu'i Tonga* had to pay homage to her.

764 In historic times, tombs called *langi* were erected
766 [p. 29-C]
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Some of the immense, stone burial structures called *langi* measured between 150 and 200 feet in length. Reproduction here is from an 1827 engraving. According to records and traditions (McKern, 1929), there are 45 *langi* in Tonga: 37 on Tongatapu, 6 in Ha'apai, and 2 in Vava'u.

Na'e fe'unga e lahi 'o e ngaahi langi 'e ni'ihi mo e futé 'e 150 ki he 200. Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i he 1827. 'Oku pehe tokua 'oku 45 e langi 'i Tonga: 37 'i Tongatapu, 6 'i Ha'apai, pea 2 'i Vava'u.

[p. 30-A]

764 for the *Tu'i Tonga* and high-ranking members of his
766 family. The majority of the *langi* were built on
349 Tongatapu in the village of Mu'a, which was for many years the center of Tongan culture and where today there exist the remains of many of the
349 impressive stone monuments. In general, the term *langi* implies a structure consisting of one or more terraces made of large, rectangular slabs of coral sandstone or limestone. However, *langi* were reportedly only earthen mounds at first, and then during the reign of the *Tu'i Tonga* Tu'itatui in the eleventh century, stone structures were erected to serve as royal tombs.[10]

316 As huge stones for a *langi* had to be quarried,
324 transported and then constructed at the appropriate location, a tremendous amount of cooperation, time, workmanship and communal labor were
[649] necessary. In Tonga, this was made possible by the rigid organization of the socio-political system under the *Tu'i Tonga*, who could command highly organized labor and discipline from his subjects.

[p. 30-B]

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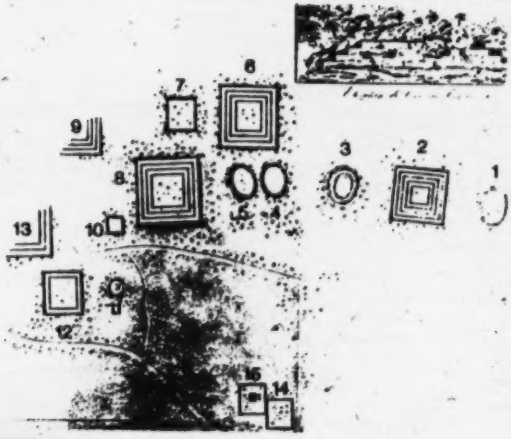
This plan of the "langi" at Mu'a was done in 1827 by an artist on Dumont d'Urville's voyage. The description, by number, as to who was believed at that time to be buried in each royal tomb, appears on page 95.

Ko e mape eni 'o e langi 'i Mu'a, 'a ia na'e fai 'i he 1827 'e ha tangata ta fakatata na'e folau ki Tonga pea mo e tangata folau 'iloa ko Dumont d'Urville. Ko e fakaikiiki 'o e ngaahi telie'anga 'oku ha ia 'i he peesi 96.



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This colossal banyan tree, named *Makumaku'ofulilangi*, was the spot in Mu'a, according to oral tradition, where early Tongans landed to unload their tributes to the *Tu'i Tonga* for the annual *'Inasi* ceremony. It is also allegedly at the site where Cook came ashore in 1777, and has thus been called "Captain Cook's Tree." Measuring 100 feet in circumference when this sketch was made in 1827, the legendary tree perished not too many years ago, and has since been replaced by a smaller banyan tree.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o e fu'u 'esese ko Makumaku'ofulilangi 'i Mu'a. 'Oku pehe foki ko e tu'utu'anga ia 'o e kau Tonga he kuo hili 'i he 'enau 'omi 'Inasi fekata'u ki he Tu'i Tonga. 'Oku 'i ai foki mo e tui na'e tu'uta heni 'e Kapitani Kuki 'i he 1777, pea ui ai 'e he ni'ihi e fu'u 'akau ni ko e "Fu'u 'Ovava 'o Kapitani Kuki." Na'e fai e ta fakatata ni he 1827, pea 'i he taimi ko ia na'e fe'unga mo e futa 'e 100 hono fua takatakai. Kuo 'osi mate foki e fu'u 'ovava ni, ka kuo 'osi to ai ha ki'i fu'u 'ovava si'isi'i ko hono fetongi.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

Early engraving of a *langi*. The house on top was for the major *matapule* to dwell in while presiding over the extensive burial and mourning ceremonies of the *Tu'i Tonga*. Such remarkable stone structures represented the epitome of Tongan architectural skill and socio-political organization; however, in general, structures were more complicated in style and function in central Polynesia (e.g. Society Islands, where altars for worship and human sacrifice, god houses, temples, and other sacred enclosures or *marae* were more elaborate). The art of stone masonry probably came to Tonga from Fiji, as did the design for the Tongan *kalia* or double canoe; however, the Tongans were characteristically quick to adopt and expand upon new ideas, so they soon became more highly developed than the Fijians in stone work.

Ko e ta fakatata eni 'o ha langi 'i ono'uho. Ko e fale e 'o e kau ha'a tufunga 'i he funga langi lolotonga 'enau ngaahi ngaue 'i hono tolio 'o e Tu'i Tonga. Neongo na'e faka'ofo'ofa 'a hono langa e ngaahi langi 'i Tonga, na'e toe fu'u *mavahe* atu 'a hono fai e langa 'aki e *maka* 'i he ngaahi feitu'u kehekehe 'i Polinisia. 'Oku pehe *na'e* ma'u 'e Tonga mei Fisi 'a e fa'ahinga ngaue ni, ka na'e 'ikai fuoloa kuo fakalaka 'a Tonga ia 'i Fisi 'i he fa'ahinga langa ni.

39: Gerstle & Ravtt C.Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
009 Tonga 009

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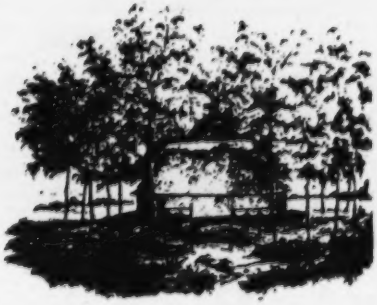
Although "langi" are no longer used as royal burial places, they remain as memorials to Tonga's past, as in the photo above of the *langi* called "Tau'atonga" in Mu'a. The Royal Tombs (below), located in Nuku'alofa, have been the burial place of Tonga's Royal Family since 1893.

'Oku 'ikai koi ngaue'aki he ngaahi 'aho ni e langi hange ko e "Langi Tau'atonga" ko ia 'i Mu'a, 'a ia 'oku ha 'i he ta 'i 'olunga. Ko Mala'e Kula 'i Nuku'alofa *(te 'i lalo)*—ko e telio'anga ia 'o ha'a tu'i talu mei he 1893.

[p. 33]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9



Early burial places for Tongan chiefs usually consisted of vaults inside of earth and sand mounds. For memorial or protective purposes, a wooden shelter was often built atop the mound, such as in these 1827 engravings.

Ko e ongo ta fakatata eni 'o he ongo fa'itoka 'o hou'eiki 'a ia na'e fai 'i he 1827. Na'e fa'a langa 'i he tunga fa'itoka he kI'i fale fakamahumalu.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

The deceased lies in state, while mourners in funeral attire respectfully attend the body. (Photo at left)

Ko e ta eni 'o he kau kaunga mamahi lolotonga 'a e 'e'ape 'a e pekia. (Ta 'i to'ohema)

Neatly-kept mounds and decorated graves in this modern-day Catholic cemetery in Mu'a reflect Tongans' respect for the dead. In the background stands the *langi* Tuafefafa, in which the last *Tu'i Tonga*, Laufilitonga, was buried in 1865. (Below)

'Oku fu'u faka'apa'apa mo'oni e kakai Tonga ki he kau pekia, pea 'oku ha ia mai iga 'enau tauhi lelei'i mo mafa 'a e ngaahi fa'itoka. Ko e ta eni 'o e fa'itoka Katolika 'i Mu'a. 'Oku 'ai mai mei mui 'a e langi koia ko Tuafefafa, 'a ia na'e tanu ai he 1865 e Tu'i Tonga fakamuimui, 'a Laufilitonga. (Ta 'i lalo)

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974
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ILLUSTRATIONS

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vi "Boats of The Friendly Isles." Plate 43, betw. pp. 474 & 475 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . . 113

x [Seal of Tonga.] Adapted from the original by Nick Rott.

xii [Map of Polynesia and Tonga.] Artist: Nick Rott. Adapted from Poignant, *Oceanic Mythology* pp. 20-21, and *National Geographic* March, 1968 p. 328. [102] [131]

2-3 "Pirogues des Iles des Amis." French reproduction of "Boats of the Friendly Isles." Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 42, betw. pp. 18 & 19 in Vol. II, James Cook, *A voyage towards the South Pole* . . .

4 "Vue d'Un Hangar abritant la pirogue de guerre du Chef Palou." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 74 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

12 *Top*: "Costume de guerre." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 72 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

13 "Woman of the Friendly Islands." Artist: Piron. Plate 30, betw. pp. 168 & 169 in Vol. II, J.J.H. de Labillardiere, *Voyage in Search of La Perouse* . . .

14 "Vue Interieure de la Maison des Femmes du Chef Palou." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 73 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . .

27 "Map of Tonga." Betw. pp. 150 & 151 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands*.

28 "Portrait of Poulaho, King of the Friendly Islands." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 3, facing p. 454 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

29 "The Natche, a Ceremony in Honour of the King's Son, in Tongataboo." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 42, facing p. 466 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

30 "Vue de l'un des Monumens destines a la Sepulture de la Race Royale." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 95 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

31 *Top*: "Tombeaux des Chefs." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 101 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . . The following is a list (the reader may be interested in comparing this information with that reported by McKern in 1929) of those who were supposedly buried in each respective *langi*, indicated by numbers on the map, as reported in 1827 to the members of this French exploring voyage: 113 164 166

1. A *Tu'i Tonga* named Fatafehi.
2. Five Kings.
3. A King and his wife.
4. A child.
5. A King.
6. Four Kings.
7. A King.
8. Kings named Tu'ipulotu & Fatafehi, plus two others.
9. Four Kings.

10. A small child.
11. Tongamana, grandfather of the chief Havea; also the chief Tu'i.
12. Grandmother of the chief Havea.
13. Tomb in memory of the chief Telea, who was lost at sea.
14. Finau, a chief who met Cook.
15. The chief Tafoa.

'Oku pehe ko e ngaahi telio'anga eni, 'o fakatatau ki he ngaahi fakamatala na'e ma'u 'e he kau folau 'a Dumont d'Urville:

1. Tu'i Tonga ko Fatafehi.
2. Kau tu'i 'e toko nima.
3. Tu'i mo e kuini.
4. Tamasi'i pe ta'ahine.
5. Tu'i.
6. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa.
7. Tu'i.
8. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa, kau ai 'a Tu'ipulotu mo Fatafehi.
9. Kau tu'i 'e toko fa.
10. Tamasi'i pe ta'ahine.
11. Tongamana, 'a e Kui 'a e 'eiki ko ia ko Havea.
12. Kui fefine 'a Havea.
13. Mala'e fakamanatu 'o e 'eiki ko Telea 'a ia na'e mole 'i tahi.
14. Finau, 'a e 'eiki na'e fakafe'iloaki kia Kapiteni Kuki
15. 'Eiki ko Tafoa.

31 *Bottom:* "Tronc d'Arbre, de 100 pieds de circonference, pres de Moua." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 75 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

32 [*Langi*] Betw. pp. 46 & 47 in Sarah S. Farmer, *Tonga and the Friendly Islands.*

34 *Top:* "Tombeau de Pangai a Hifo." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 86 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . .

34 *Bottom:* "Tombeau d'un Chef." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 85 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe* . .

35 "Portrait of Otago, or Attago, a Chief at Amsterdam." Artist: Wm. Hodges. Plate 49, facing p. 144 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

36 "George Tubou, King of the Friendly Islands." Frontispiece in Rev. Thomas West, *Ten Years* . . .

38 "The Reception of Capt. Cook, in Hapaee." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 46, facing p. 450 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

39 "A View at Anamooka." Artist: J. Webber. Plate 29, facing p. 447 in George Wm. Anderson, *A New, Authentic, & Complete Collection* . . .

40 "Consultation a l'Esprit pour un enfant malade." Artist: de Sainson. Plate 77 in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas–Partie Historique: Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe"* . . .

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

651 ever before. Now it was expected that we should be uncove[re]d as
796 low as the waist, that our hair should be loose and flowing over our
123 shoulders; that we should like them sit cross leged and at times in
292 the most humble posture with downcast eyes and hands locked to-
302 gether, all of which they themselves observed; lastly every one was
516 excluded but the Principle people and those who acted a part. These
651 to me were a sufficient testimony that they looked upon themselves
796 to be acting under the immediate eye of a Supreme Being. We were
782 told that a far greater or grandeur ceremony than this would be per-
formed on the same account in about three months time in which ten Men were to be Sacrificed;[1] this is sufficient for us to beleive that Human Sacrifices here as well as at Otaheite are considered as necessary.

122 Before the Ceremony was over the day was far spent and as we
were some distance from the Ships and had an intricate Navigation to go through, we made haste to be gone. When I took leave of the
648 Cheif he press'd me much to stay till the next day to see a funeral
643 Ceremony. This was the wife of Mariwaggy and Mother in Law to
766 the King, whose Corps, on account of the late Ceremony, lay on board a Canoe in the Lagoon; he told me as soon as it was over he would go with me to Middleburg, provide[d] I would wait, if not he would follow, for if it had not been for the death of this Woman, most of the Chiefs would have accompaned us to that island, all of them having possessions there. I would gladly have waited to have seen this Ceremony also had not the tide been now favourable for the Ships to get through the narrows, and the Wind, which for several days past had been very boisterous, Moderate and settled, and to have lost this oppertunity might have detained us a fortnight longer; beside we were told that the Ceremony would last five days and this was too long for me to wait in a place where I could not put to sea at pleasure. I however told him that If we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day, and so we all took leave and set out for the Ships where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

123 I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this last days
ceremony as well as my self, but we were not together nor did I know
651 he was there till it was almost over. Omai after wards told me that as
796 soon as the King missed me, he sent several people one after a nother to desire me to come back, probably these Messengers were not admited to come where I was, for I saw nothing of them. At last word

[1] 'In about three months time' would mean October, the period of the regular *inasi* ceremony, the first-fruits or harvest festival described by Mariner; and men's lives could quite well be part of the harvest apportioned to the share of the gods. We cannot be dogmatic that Cook's 'on the same account' is either right or wrong.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testimony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appearence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no disagreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former,

[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this.

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tus* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauzegaa*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's '*tus* retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'.

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputation or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.'

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

an idea of such rigorous discipline that must require either an uncommon degree of affection or the grossest superstition to exact. I will not say that the last has no share in it, for in some cases it is so universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is express'd—such for instance as the case mention'd of the people of Tonga mourning the death of a chief at Va'vaoo; unless we allow that it is customary to have a general mourning for persons of eminence, as seem'd to be the case on our arrival at Tonga, when a great number of the people who had been with us at Annamooka cut off their hair for a chief who had died at Tonga a month before, and at the same [time] it should be observ'd that the painfull operations are only done by the nearest connections. When a person dies he is buried the same day, after being wrapp'd up in matts and cloth, much after our manner: the chiefs in this case having the Fyatockas appropriated to them but the common people are interr'd in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony follows immediately after is uncertain, but that there is something besides the general one we were inform'd of from the death of Mareewagges wife, who died while we were there and was to have five days spent for that purpose by all the principal people in commemoration of her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death as a very great evil, and this is confirm'd by an odd custom they practice to avert it, for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity. The operation is perform'd with one of their stone hatchets with which they make a tolerable stump, but never cover it afterwards, leaving these and all other sores expos'd to the air; nor do they seem to have any method of assisting the cure of diseases of any kind, the only instance I saw being some incisions made in a large swelling in a mans arm to discharge the matter by. There is scarcely one in ten but are thus mutilated in one or both hands (which is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves) and has a disagreeable effect, many being cut so short that they have incroach'd on the bone of the hand which joins to it.

There is another custom amongst them call'd Taboo whose precise meaning we do not well understand. The word itself implys no more than that a thing is not to be touch'd, and therefore every thing that is under such restriction for certain reasons is said to be Taboo'd. It seems a custom of great force and extent and in some measure may be reckon'd of the sacred or religious cast, relating to things hallow'd and forbidden. Thus the Fya'tocka at Poulaho's house was not to be

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cups made of the Cocoa nut shells, wooden bowls of various sizes, different kind of Vessels made of Clay, Baskets of different Kinds, made of the rind of the Cocoa nut, Bundles of Cloth & fine Matts and their Arms, which consist of Clubs some of which are curiously carved, others plain, most of them made of wood, some few of Stone, Spears which are generally pointed with the Tail of the Sting ray, & 3 pronged Darts and Bows and Arrows which can answer very little purpose in War, their Arrows being too long & the Bows too weak; a Groove large enough to receive the arrow which is made of Cane runs along the inside of the Bow. They keep their arrows in long quivers made of large Hollow Bamboo.

The Places set apart for burying the dead are raised with Gravel about a foot or two above the level of the Ground, on which stand two or three Houses which are constantly shut up but contain nothing in them; these Cemetries called in their Language Dano[1] are kept very neat & clean & the Indians were generally displeased at our approaching them. Besides these there are others raised of Stones which are the burying places of the Chiefs & are called Fyntocka.[2] They have also spots set apart for burying their little fingers which they cut off & for their Children's navel strings, these are raised in the public highway & in size & appearance much like a Country Cock-pit, they call them Ejee.[3] Their Manufactures are of various kinds, that of the cloth is the principal, their manner of preparing it differs nothing material from that of the Otaheiteans, tho' it is painted afterwards quite different. They spread over it a kind of brown gummy Substance which gives the Cloth a glazed appearance which might be mistaken for Silk at a little distance; the brown Cloth is the most common & they have not many Varieties of Patterns, it has something of the substance & stiffness of Buckram & it is the general Clothing of both Sexes. Another considerable manufacture is that of Matting of which they have many different Sorts, some white others variegated with black & executed in a very neat & elegant manner, others strong & Coarse; the finest sort they use for Cloathing & to sit upon on extroardinary Occasions, the others are used for sails to their Canoes & to cover the floors of their Houses.

[1] *tano*. It is curious that nobody else from the voyage reports this word. *Tano*, a cemetery in general; *fa'itoka*, the circular burial places of the chiefs; *langi*, the rectangular, stone-built tombs of the Tu'i Tonga and Tamaha.

[2] sic; *fa'itoka*. Samwell's 'Fyn-' may be a slip for 'Fya-'.

[3] *esi*, 'rest mound'. But Samwell has certainly his information back to front. Some fingers and navel strings may have been buried on some rest mound, but the mounds were not made for that purpose. Some were buried in mounds of their own. 'The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.'—Gifford, *Tongan Society* (1929), p. 185.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders. The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs, which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows, with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us, the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast. Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1] in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried & buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard, in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here, they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement, for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting, than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them; they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the left to the Mother.[2]

[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways can be considered part of the household.

[121] [125] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly I just participated in Tonga life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a matāpule (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip, I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--dance and tapa making--and to explore the relation between these and 192 the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbalized category that would correspond to the Western concept of the 122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed 765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted 766 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my 784 [535] [207]

122 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be
765 an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants
766 were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about
784 dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know
122 how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a
124 performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in
535 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so
541 the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one.
I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been
129 held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately,
during my first field trip and the first three months of my second
field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also
learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, partici-
pation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to
delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the
society.

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be
126 presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering
[122] of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but
are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who
know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people
together especially when it was taps to sing dance songs. These texts
[129] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

for more than twelve months before the Code's official promulgation. They were printed on 16 May 1838.

Authorities have pointed out that this simple but remarkable Code was largely Tāufa'āhau's own composition. However, the influence of the missionaries is quite apparent in the Code itself, which has a long preamble written in Biblical language.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Code is the bold step it made towards limiting the power of the chiefs. This was undoubtedly due, to a large extent, to the advice of the missionaries.[1] They believed that all men were equal in the sight of God, and they had long been disturbed by the arbitrary power of the chiefs and the inhuman way they often treated the commoners. The attitudes of the missionaries on the question may be illustrated by the following instances. Tāufa'āhau decided to bury without any ceremony an old woman who died at Lifuka, Ha'apai, where John Thomas was working at the time. 'I told him [Tāufa'āhau]', wrote the missionary after hearing what happened, 'I wished to do towards a poor old woman as I would towards the rich, and that God was no respecter of persons' (Thomas, Journal, 26 Mar. 1831). Again, a charge was brought against a chief of one of the islands of Ha'apai, in a Quarterly Meeting, for appropriating to himself yams belonging to other people, and forcing them to cultivate his land for him without receiving any wages, and also tabooing for the King certain pigs belonging to the people. The missionaries' reaction against this action was firm and decisive. One of them reported:

> We strongly expressed our disapprobation of such arbitrary methods of obtaining supplies either for the King or Chiefs as well as pronounce our views of the inconsistency of the same with the office of a Local Preacher amongst us and our resolution to retain no such persons as preachers from the time to come. (Rabone, Journal, 11 Sept. 1838)

This attitude of the missionaries is reflected in Section 4 of the Code which reads:

> It is my mind that my people should live in great peace, no quarrelling . . . but to serve the God of peace in sincerity . . . ; they

[1] Obviously Tāufa'āhau's own ambitions had a lot to do with this move.

102: Brierly T-3 (1350) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missionaries, but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice. It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the children as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propitiate them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms, or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden. A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to contain their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the